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Stan Thorne MP
Labour Member Speaks Out

Graham Norwood
National Front

Betty Sinclair
Northern Ireland

Jack Woodburn
Tenants' Charter

Israel / J. Pilchick : Nato Threat / R. Huzzard
John Gollan/G. McLennan : May Day/R. Caruth

LABOUR MONTHLY

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Survey—September 14, 1977

THE FIGHT GOES ON

'The country and the labour movement wants to fight, the people want a new militant challenging programme. But not only is no lead coming from the Labour leaders, on the main issues their policy is indistinguishable from that of the Tories. They fear the rising mass movement. . . .'

JOHN GOLLAN, *Labour Monthly*, April 1954.

'If inflation is really to be fought, the balance of payments righted, and the interests of the British economy preserved, a complete change of policy is needed. "Defence" expenditure must be ended overseas, and drastically reduced at home. Workers now engaged on armaments must be released for civilian work, to modernise and expand Britain's industrial production. There would be no lack of demand. Both the raising of wages and salaries, as also the expansion of the social services, would mean a steadily increasing demand; the ending of restrictions on trade with the socialist countries, and real aid to the developing countries to build up their industries and raise their standard of living, would ensure a continuous rise in exports. The private ownership of the monopolies must be ended, and working class control of the state achieved, so that production and distribution are organised to serve the interests of the people. The export of private capital must be ended, and available capital used for the development of British industry and to help the growth of the developing countries. Indirect taxation must be cut down, and direct taxation of the rich increased.'

EMILE BURNS, *Money and Inflation*, 1968.

Scarman and Grunwick

The Report of the Scarman Committee on the Grunwick dispute has been issued. Its 'chief recommendations' as summed up in the *Times* (August 26) are as follows:

Ideally, Grunwick should . . . offer re-employment to all those strikers who before the dispute were full-time employees of the company and who wish to be taken back. That should be done if at all practicable . . . the question of determining the number of vacancies . . . could well, and should, be considered by a mediator. . . . It would be reasonable for the company to make to those for whom there are no vacancies an *ex-gratia* payment commensurate with their length of service. . . . It was said on behalf of the company during the course of the inquiry that if an individual employee who was a member of the union had a grievance which he or she could not settle directly with the

> management, and wished to be represented by the union . . . the company would accept that right. It is recommended that the company should give effect to that declaration. Whatever the result of the company's case against ACAS [Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Service] (which is now for the House of Lords to decide), ACAS is the body established by law to determine the recognition issue in the absence of agreement. There is no doubt that union representation, if properly encouraged and responsibly exercised, could in future help the company as well as the employees.

The Committee also welcomed the announcement that the government had 'under review the law relating to picketing.'

Mr Ward has reacted with a categorical negative. In the Tory Party Sir Keith Joseph on September 1 supported the doubts expressed by Ward regarding the findings. He claimed that 'oppressed' may be 'the employer, the job creator . . . sometimes the non-union workers'. And, commented the *Financial Times* (September 6): 'Such remarks led the Tory Reform Group and others to conclude that Sir Keith had allied the Conservative Party with Mr George Ward . . . and against the trade union.' Sir Keith denied partisanship, but Len Murray on behalf of the TUC said: 'It is time Mrs Thatcher acted before the party is rightly tarred with the anti-union brush.' But Mrs Thatcher remained mum and flew to the US. Only on September 13 did she express a view. According to the *Times* (September 14), 'she appeared to come down on the side of Mr Prior.' We thus have a sharp division—deny it or not—among the Tories: Sir Keith Joseph and such backers of Ward as John Gorst MP and the National Association for Freedom (NAFF) set-up; on the other side James Prior MP, Peter Walker MP and the Tory Reform Group. And against this disarray the trade union movement stands united. Reporting the TUC debate, the *Financial Times* (September 7) wrote:

> The debate was unexpectedly brief . . . but the motion was passed unanimously . . . after Mr Roy Grantham, general secretary of APEX (the Association of Professional, Executive, Clerical and Computer Staffs), warned . . . that if Grunwick was allowed to get away with its refusal to negotiate with the unions, its 'supporters would have a field day'. . . . he indicated that the strategy ahead would be carefully designed to sever the company's lifelines.

That both sides are determined was shown by Stephen Ayres, Tory Selsdon group secretary, who told a Tory meeting in Coventry that 'if George Ward goes down this autumn, the next Conservative government will go down too. . . . We must not let them win' (*Daily Telegraph*, September 5). Though the TUC debate was brief, owing to the time taken up on another matter, the undertakings of the

TUC were such that if fully carried out the Grunwick workers *will* win. The fight goes on.

Wages and the TUC

Readers who read in our August *Survey* the words 'The Social Con-trick is dead' may well have felt doubts when a stubborn Callaghan-Healey duet followed, repeating the theme of the 'social contract', the twelve-month rule and an average rise of not more than 10 per cent in earned incomes.

But our judgement was based on established facts; as long ago as August 1, the Treasury's *Economic Progress Report* had claimed: 'Dividend controls have been continued for another year; the limit continues to be 10 per cent. Control over profit margins under the Price Code continues for another year.' The untruth of this statement had been demonstrated five months earlier by Joel Barnett MP in the House of Commons. He then admitted:

> The Treasury last year gave permission to 315 companies to increase their dividends by more than the 10 per cent normally allowed. . . . Six . . . on the ground that their operations were almost entirely overseas . . . ; 166 . . . which had recovered from past trading setbacks and dividend cuts . . . accounted for 42.2 per cent of the total extra pay-outs approved. Another 102 concerns were permitted to make larger than usual increases in connection with the raising of new money for investment (*Financial Times*, April 23).

This practice has continued, and here is *Labour Weekly*'s comment of August 28 on the food and drug firm, Beecham, trebling its pay-out to shareholders: 'It is understood Mr Healey was personally involved in the decision to give the go-ahead' which 'puts an extra £17 million into shareholders' pockets.' And now, the very latest in the series: 'Babcock & Wilcox has been granted Treasury permission to raise its dividend by 150 per cent' (*Times*, September 14). And on another page it comments: 'The Treasury line on dividend restraint is getting thinner and thinner.' So much for dividend controls. In addition, the top-brass of the big companies have been handing themselves more than the 'regulation' 10 per cent and the *Financial Times* of September 8 records an improvement of 26.7 per cent in profits over the year before. And so it goes on.

It was in this scene that 'the TUC General Council was unable to agree with the government on a third phase of voluntary pay restraint' (*Financial Times*, September 8). In one industry after another wage demands are being voiced that cannot possibly be fitted into the government's 10 per cent. Callaghan at the TUC therefore concen-

trated only on the twelve-month rule. This was accepted by Congress but only after Scanlon had voted against the combined protests of his own delegation. If he had voted otherwise many of the smaller unions would have surely had the courage to follow suit.

With an irony with which we can agree the *Daily Telegraph* referred to the Premier's speech as 'Callaghan's autumn tax carrot' (September 7) and the next day its David Harris commented that the 'government's incomes "policy" looked even more like so much stage scenery.' 'Nor,' said the *Financial Times* (September 8) editorially, 'the defeated minority and many sceptical outside observers will argue, is the vote of much practical importance.' 'Even if national leaders generally respect the ruling, there will be strong local and unofficial pressure to disregard it,' said the *Times* (September 5).

But Denis Healey, after the TUC as before, is plugging away at threats of 'sanctions'—withholding public support, contracts and export credits from firms which exceed the government-dictated limits. On August 25 the *Financial Times* editorially warns against such 'threats or arm-twisting' and described such a policy as 'potentially dangerous'. In fact, for all the pretended 'social contract' a '*de facto* statutory policy' has now been substituted. A government-imposed policy is now inevitable except where the workers fight back.

Though the TUC formally endorsed the twelve-month rule, in other resolutions it fundamentally challenged the government's economic strategy. Urgent action on unemployment was demanded including a £3 billion package of deflation by the autumn. The continuation of 'cash limits' on public sector spending was overwhelmingly condemned, and any co-operation with the government on wages was made conditional on this resolution being carried out. The Constructional Engineers' demand for an additional £1,100 million for their industry was unanimously supported, as was also the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (Technical, Administrative and Supervisory Section) resolution detailed in our previous 'Survey'. This resolution demanded a fundamental change in the economic strategy of the government. It was already moved last year, but was withdrawn on the assurance of Len Murray that its 'eight points will be embodied in the policies which we shall pursue with this government.' Ken Gill, on withdrawing the resolution, then said: 'I have a feeling that our unity is stretched to the absolute utmost.' And so it was. Nothing was done to change economic strategy along the lines demanded. And this year the resolution was approved by Congress.

On racialism a comprehensive resolution was adopted, moved by

Maurice Styles of the Union of Post Office Workers, whose life has been threatened since he moved an anti-racialist resolution a year ago. An attempt to combine criticism of the USSR with criticism of South Africa was overwhelmingly defeated. Full trade union conditions were demanded for British companies' workers in South Africa, and further investment in Chile and Bolivia were opposed until democracy is restored there. A composite on transport was adopted, highly critical of government policy.

The Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen's resolution calling on the British government to associate itself with those governments which have already declared that they will not be the first to use nuclear weapons was adopted unanimously.

There was no unanimous support of the Bullock Report despite Mr Callaghan's statement long ago that it would shortly be enacted. A compromise was agreed which the *Financial Times* (September 12) explains to its business readers thus: 'The implication seems to be that if trade unions want Board representation they will be able, by law, to insist on getting it.'

One more resolution worthy of mention was that of the National Union of Journalists condemning 'the use of the Official Secrets Act against Messrs Aubrey, Berry and Campbell', rounded up in connection with the Agee-Hosenball expulsions. The resolution called for a 'Freedom of Information Act on the Swedish model'. This motion was adopted unanimously.

The Confederation of British Industry has reacted with dire warnings of further price rises if wage increases go ahead, and it has intimated that its forthcoming 'first national conference' in November will have resolutions aimed to 'curb trade union activities' (*Financial Times*, September 6).

On the other side, the National Institute of Economic and Social Research marked the occasion of the TUC with the proposal for a reflationary budget in the autumn ' "to arrest the rise in unemployment and to reverse it in the course of 1978." . . . It sees average earnings rising by about 17 per cent over the coming year, but the inflation rate coming down from 13 to 14 per cent this year to about 10 to 11 per cent by the end of 1978' (*Daily Telegraph*, August 26).

Labour Party Conference

Within a month of the TUC the Labour Party Conference takes place in Brighton. The final agenda has now been issued and marks some significant changes as compared with the preliminary agenda discussed in our last 'Survey'. 'Even the Campaign for Labour Party

Democracy,' writes *Labour Weekly* (September 9), 'was taken by surprise this week when the final agenda . . . revealed no less than 83 motions for the re-selection of MPs.' In addition, the Executive has now tabled a proposal that the House of Lords be totally abolished.

According to *Labour Weekly* (August 26):

> A hustle is on . . . to get detailed proposals . . . for a merger of the National Savings Bank and the Post Office Giro to create a new State Bank in time for the . . . conference. The move, like the setting up of the committee under Sir Harold Wilson to investigate the City, was largely aimed at outflanking the demand for the nationalisation of four big banks and a number of insurance companies,

as decided last year. The new move simply means merging two already state-owned bodies, not in itself a bad thing. The resolution last year was aimed to transfer property, and control over it, from private to public hands. If nationalisation does not go through it is the City which will have won.

The Executive has also put forward a document on controlling the multinationals. As the *Financial Times* (September 8) correctly observes: 'There appears to have been a distinct softening in the party approach towards wholesale nationalisation.' What is proposed is that nationalisation should occur in particular cases, but not as a general principle. For the rest, reliance is placed on an 'effective planning agreement' and a 'foreign investment fund'. The lack of success so far in getting effective planning agreements even internally does not augur well for involving multinationals in such schemes. The proposals it would seem, even if adopted, will leave things much as they are.

Southern Africa

Alerted by the vigilance of the Soviet Union the West has got alarmed recently about the alleged production of nuclear weapons in South Africa. The South African government 'denied' the reports, 'satisfied' President Carter, and then within a matter of weeks declared that

> there is no longer any doubt that South Africa could produce a nuclear bomb within 12 months or even sooner. . . . South Africa was incensed last month by private American warnings that Washington could persuade oil companies to impose an effective restriction of supplies to South Africa (*Daily Telegraph*, September 12).

'Despite the 14-year old United Nations arms embargo . . . it has been able to build up a huge "secret arsenal",' reported Peter Pringle in the *Sunday Times* already on July 10. The embargo, as is well known, has not been applied.

According to the *Financial Times* of August 24, Allis-Chalmers (US) sold the first nuclear reactor to South Africa in 1961, followed by fuel elements fabricated in the US and Britain. Last year France supplied its first two pressurised water reactors. Israel and West Germany are also deeply involved. 'Some left-wing African governments are displaying growing alarm' also 'over a West German space project now taking shape in Zaïre' (*Sunday Times*, September 4). It has also been boasted that the South African secret service, BOSS, has been operating in Britain now for five years (*Daily Telegraph*, July 25).

The *Daily Telegraph* (September 13) proclaims that 'total war' preparations are now going ahead in South Africa allegedly 'in view of the military implications of the Rhodesian situation'. And as we go to press we read that the South African nationalist leader, Steve Biko, formerly of the South African Students' Organisation, 'died last night in police detention' (*Financial Times*, September 14). How long will the world let such things happen?

While Dr Owen tries to 'do a Kissinger' in order to save Rhodesia from 'imminent collapse' his efforts to get his plan accepted by Smith are still in the balance, and the Africans remain suspicious. Reginald Dale wrote in the *Fianancial Times* on June 24:

> The developing countries are bitterly critical of organisations like the GATT, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, which, they say, are dominated by the rich Western nations. . . .
>
> The West does not like negotiating in bodies like the United Nations or UNCTAD, where the developing countries are a vast majority.

And as Bridget Bloom reported in the *Financial Times* (July 6) a month later:

> The 49-member Organisation of African Unity yesterday endorsed the Patriotic Front as Rhodesia's legitimate nationalist movement. The move simultaneously supports the guerrilla war . . . and further diminishes hopes for a negotiated settlement.

It is against this harsh background that Dr Owen has to 'negotiate'. The recent election in Rhodesia confirmed Smith in office but, as the

Daily Telegraph (September 12) writes, the election result denotes

> a widespread acceptance that majority rule is not only inevitable but imminent. . . . The Rhodesian leader's derisory reaction to the proposals should not be allowed to hide the fact that they stand four-square between him and his only other option, the ineptly named 'internal settlement'. . . . It is accepted that the economy is under increasing strain, that morale is being eroded by protracted military call-ups, political uncertainty and the undiminished casualty rate in the war.
>
> It is accepted that South Africa, itself under increasing international pressure, is prepared to ensure that Rhodesia proceeds rapidly towards any reasonable settlement that will bring about majority rule.

In Lagos at the end of August a Declaration was adopted by the World Conference for Action against Apartheid. Two points in this 33-point Declaration were met with 'reservations' from

> Britain, America, France and West Germany. . . . Point 26 called on the United Nations Security Council to take all necessary measures to ensure the implementation of the existing arms embargo against South Africa. Point 27 recommended all governments, and the United Nations, as well as economic interests, including transnational corporations, to urgently consider stopping loans to and investment in South Africa.

Andrew Young on behalf of the US said that 'while there were reservations, "there is no difference in the substance of our policy and that expressed in the declaration" ' (*Daily Telegraph*, August 27). If that were indeed so, why the 'reservations'?

While the situation in southern Africa remains serious, the position in the Middle East is also critical. The USSR is disturbed that, 'despite repeated statements by President Carter', Washington has 'decided to deliver 200 million dollars worth of war material to Egypt' and to examine requests from Chad and elsewhere. It goes on:

> According to the Belgian newspaper *Le Matin* the main purpose of US arms deliveries to Egypt and Sudan is to 'surround Libya'. . . . As to Ethiopia, here, as the *New York Times* admits, Washington seeks to cause as many difficulties as it can in that country, which has chosen a non-capitalist road of development (*Soviet News*, August 16).

A TASS Agency statement of August 14 had declared:

> The hope is expressed in the Soviet Union that the leaders of Somalia and Ethiopia will display statesmanship and equanimity and immediately put an end to the armed conflict and will sit down at the negotiating table. . . . The invasion of the territory of one country by the armed forces of the other does damage to the cause of peace and security of the peoples of Africa and all over the world.

Belgrade

On October 4, the Belgrade Conference opens, to follow up the Helsinki Agreement. Leonid Brezhnev when in France recently stressed the role of the peoples in the disarmament struggle. He said:

> I am deeply convinced that progress in this most important aspect of the struggle for peace depends to a tremendous degree on the efforts of the public in the different countries . . . and on the extent to which every one of us is active and persistent.

On September 13 the *Times* reported that the Secretary-General of the UN had presented President Brezhnev with the UN gold medal for peace. It is appropriate that this presentation should take place almost on the eve of the opening of the Belgrade Conference.

Concluding Points

We deeply regret the death of John Gollan, and refer readers to the tribute by his successor, Gordon McLennan, on page 452. We also deeply regret the death of James Klugmann, until recently the editor of *Marxism Today*: a tribute to him will appear in our November issue. Both were valuable contributors to *Labour Monthly*.

We welcome the visit to Britain of the exiled general secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, Louis Corvalan. He was invited to Britain jointly by the Communist Party, the Scottish Miners and the Chile Solidarity Campaign. Mrs Hortensia Allende, widow of the late Salvador Allende, is also in Britain at present. The two of them are attending numerous meetings and wish to bring home to the British people how many political prisoners in Chile rely on our help and support to get their release.

The *Express* is again on the breakfast tables of those who like that sort of thing. However, bread is 'off', and a full-page advertisement from the Bakers' Federation allegedly tells the public the facts. Among its statements is that 'the average gross pay for most men is about £70 per week.' A union spokesman said: 'Let them name the bakeries where this is true!' After all, how does one have an 'average' of 'most'? Unfortunately, the giant bakeries can afford to buy up complete pages for such advertising, just as the banks are doing against nationalisation. Moreover, having published their *advertisement* the BBC gave a detailed report of it as '*news*' to the public. Hence the alliance to which we have drawn attention more than once, of monopoly capital in material production and in the control of the media.

The fight goes on.

Pat Sloan

NATIONAL UNION OF MINEWORKERS

YORKSHIRE AREA

EXTENDS FRATERNAL GREETINGS TO ALL DELEGATES AND CALLS FOR WITHDRAWAL FROM THE COMMON MARKET

A. SCARGILL	J. T. LEIGH	R. HORBURY	O. BRISCOE
President	*Vice-president*	*Fin. Secretary*	*Gen. Secretary*

THE SOUTH WALES AREA OF THE NUM CONVEY TO ALL DELEGATES AT THE LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE THEIR FRATERNAL GREETINGS. WE HOPE FOR A FRUITFUL AND SUCCESSFUL CONFERENCE IN OUR STRUGGLE TO ACHIEVE SOCIALISM.

EMLYN WILLIAMS, *President*
W. H. THOMAS, *Vice-President*
GEORGE REES, *General Secretary*

NATIONAL UNION OF SHEET METAL WORKERS, COPPERSMITHS, HEATING AND DOMESTIC ENGINEERS

We wish all Delegates a progressive Conference

SOCIALISM IS STILL THE SOLUTION

L. G. Guy, General Secretary

A LABOUR MP SPEAKS OUT

Stan Thorne MP

RECENTLY a delegate to the Preston South Constituency Management Committee said after some of my comments to a meeting: 'Have you nothing good to say about the Labour government?'

It was a perfectly proper question to which I was later able to give much thought. Yes it is true that the Labour government abolished the iniquitous Industrial Relations Act and placed on the Statute Book the Trades Union and Labour Relations Act and the Employment Protection Act, both measures of value to the people. It is true that Labour increased old age pensions, improved children's allowances, established a Community Land Act and a National Enterprise Board, renegotiated the crippling Tory terms of entry into the Common Market and took into public ownership the aircraft and shipbuilding industries, but how does the average family interpret all this? Or put it another way and pose the question, how far has Labour succeeded in carrying out its 1974 Manifesto promises to the electorate?

I have been criticised over the last three years for my outspoken criticism of the Labour government when it has fallen short of its commitments to the electorate of 1974, but surely it is precisely because governments over recent years have failed to carry out their promises that people are so disenchanted with politicians.

The Labour Party will not be the better for failing to face up to its failures and its weaknesses. On the contrary, it is only through an objective assessment of its work for the people that a dialogue about the future can take place. We will be producing another Manifesto in the near future, so let us take stock now of what has, has not, and needs to be done, if the needs of people are to be met.

The 1974 Manifesto referred to 'effective price controls on key items in the household budget'. They were not established. Instead, between February 1974 and May 1977 retail prices increased by 78.7 per cent and the price code established by the Tory government was relaxed and relaxed. Reference was made to 'especially stringent controls on food prices'. But the food price index rose over the same period by 88.2 per cent. The promise of a 'large and immediate increase in pensions' certainly was carried through, but a recent statement from Professor Peter Townsend reveals that dependants lost £500 million last year because the government decided not to uprate social security payments.

Our Labour Manifesto referred to 'abolition of prescription charges and steady progress towards a completely free health service'. Prescription charges remain, and dental and optical charges have been increased.

A fairer tax system for the lower paid has not been introduced by the government, and concessions of recent date were only won by the action of left-wing Labour MPs Rooker and Wise. Tax cuts for the rich, the policy of the Tories, was to be reversed by Labour, and certainly some tax loopholes have been closed, but the April 1977 budget gave the man on £25,000 per year an extra £16.96 per week, whilst the man on £2,000 per year received a miserly £1.39.

One of the perspectives of the Labour government was to introduce restraint on rents. Having repealed the Tories' Housing Finance Act, subsequent cuts in public expenditure have resulted in council rents being raised by an average of 40 per cent over three years. Also, a 'big increase in the housebuilding programme' was promised, but shortly after the successes of 1974-75 we will now have in 1977-78 one of the worst records with fewer than 300,000 new homes completed due to the expenditure cuts.

Municipal ownership of privately rented homes with fairer treatment for private tenants has not been produced, due again to cuts in public spending. Improvement schemes have been abandoned. The public ownership of land is a dead duck. Local authorities are selling off publicly-owned land on which council houses could be built because there is no chance of the local authorities obtaining the cash. In the field of transport, public spending cuts have reduced the prospects of providing a cheap and efficient service.

The prospect of the National Enterprise Board being provided with the necessary funds to assist the extension of public ownership to 'profitable sections of industry' (Manifesto 1974) which would in turn assist with the establishment of Planning Agreements has not materialised. Even the North Sea oil bonanza is largely in the hands of foreign multinational companies. Real moves towards industrial democracy have hardly been helped following the Lib-Lab pact.

As to the Common Market, this has proved an unmitigated disaster largely because of the decisions taken by the European Commission sitting in Brussels whose Common Agricultural Policy has increased the price of food whilst ensuring mountains of butter and beef which are sold off not to provide adequate food at a price Britishers can afford but to protect the profits of European agriculturalists and their associated distributors.

In my own view Britain should withdraw from the Common Market following a statement by the government to the European Commission rejecting any further participation in the Common Agricultural Policy. This is in the interests of the people, their food and their employment. The continued rise in the level of imports into Britain of manufactured and semi-manufactured goods means that unemployment is being imported. Our electronics, textile, footwear motor and other industries have already cut back on production arising from imports and investment policies.

Investment is allowed to flow out of Britain whilst our own industries suffer from a lack of it. Inflation, to which the government has contributed through budgetary policies, will continue to dominate our economic life for the next eighteen months unless new economic policies are adopted. Public expenditure cuts, price rises, and the growth of unemployment all help to explain the voters' rejection of Labour in recent by-elections.

The people have now learned of the bankruptcy of the first two phases of the 'social contract' from actual experience. Lowered living standards have been their lot whilst profits have risen at their expense. Wage restraint has not applied to profits and dividends; indeed, it is not to exaggerate to say that the Labour government has operated on behalf of big business throughout the period of its attack on inflation.

This is yet another explanation of the desertion of Labour by the voters: the promises in the Manifesto of 1974 regarding an irreversible shift in the balance of wealth and power to working people and their families. How grotesque those grandiose words sound today following the government's handling of the economy since 1974. Whilst the National Front clearly gains increasing support by fomenting racial prejudice, some people turn to it owing to Labour's failure to fulfil its promises on employment, improving the social services and planning industry.

The alternative policies in the economic sector have been spelt out by the Tribune Group of Labour MPs on a number of occasions and will no doubt be heard at the Labour Party Conference this month. Apparently more and more people are accepting the need for an end to wage restraint, and more trade unionists are supporting the Transport and General Workers' Union's call for a freeze on prices. Added to this is the renewed clamour for the restoration of public expenditure in key areas. The public sector borrowing requirement has been wrongly overstated by the Treasury mandarins in order to support their policies, and immediate steps should be taken

by the government to release funds for major building projects in health, education and particularly housing.

Increasing public expenditure in these fields and within the public transport system will bring about a lift in demand arising from increased purchasing power of the workers.

These measures of increasing our gross national product will help to reduce the level of unemployment and gradually reflate the economy.

The recent government decision to put £100 million into the construction industry is a beginning.

Decisions regarding collective bargaining which have been taken by some trade unions will result in a more realistic attitude to wages. If prices rise, then wages must rise with them. It is not true, as the last two years of wage restraint have shown, that high prices are mainly caused by high wages. That myth has surely been destroyed for ever. *Prices are largely determined by the nature of monopoly and oligopoly which forms the major part of our economy in Britain today.* We need a real policy of price controls with essential foods a matter of urgent priority.

To improve the standard of living of the people; to provide proper standards of housing, health and education with social services for all those in need is the primary purpose of a Labour government. To do this, far stronger controls of our industry and our economy will be necessary in the future, with decisions being taken not on the basis of what is to the advantage of private profit-makers but what is likely to meet people's needs. That is what socialism is about, and that is what we need more of, not less!

Most men and women wish to pursue a life of creativity in the collective interests of the community of which they are a part. One can conceive of community at local, national and international levels since we are all members of the human race, and service to our fellow-men is still, surely, a greater service than to private profit.

There is a long struggle ahead, but I remain optimistic regarding the British people's will to advance to a higher form of society based upon the brotherhood of man!

PASS IT ON . . .

When you've finished reading this copy of *Labour Monthly*, why not pass it on to a friend or workmate?

You might gain us a new reader—especially if you point out the generous post free subscription offer inside the back cover.

NORTHERN IRELAND

Betty Sinclair

IT is no secret that Mr Roy Mason, Northern Ireland Secretary of State, is seeking a military victory in Northern Ireland. Already in the month of July he was able, with the assistance of some 10 to 26 members of the British House of Commons (i.e. the usual number of members in the House when matters concerning Northern Ireland are being 'discussed'), to pass legislation for the continuation of direct rule for another year. He promised to increase the resident force of the British army within the province, step up the numbers of the Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR), the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the latter's reserve force, to create further new offences against 'terrorists' and to double the terms of imprisonment—whether or not convictions were based on so-called confessions made after 'suspects' had been in the 'care' of the security forces for a seven-day period.

Mr Mason's highest point, in proving that the 'security forces' could do the job, was when Queen Elizabeth made her two-day visit to the province to meet some 5,000-7,000 of 'her loyal subjects' on August 10 and 11. At least 32,000 members of the armed forces, land, sea and air, were involved, not counting the security searchers in the main towns and cities. One armed unit to every 47 of the 1½ million of the population! The Queen, in a very short speech to her audience at the New University of Coleraine, Co Derry (August 11), stated: 'There is no place here for old fears and attitudes born of history—no place for blame for what is past. It is to the future that we must look for that is the most important concern. . . .' There will be no need to emphasise that fears, history and blame do concern the people of Northern Ireland. The future is also much a matter of concern.

Direct rule was imposed on the area in March 1972 and has continued with the exception of the five-month period of the ill-fated Northern Ireland Assembly Executive, brought down in May 1974 by the so-called Ulster Workers' Council strike, and the reluctance of the Wilson government and armed forces to act against the Unionist ultra-right. Direct rule is civil rule from Westminster and military rule by Westminster's permission, and for the foreseeable future it will continue.

The fortunes of the Callaghan government (or misfortunes) have added to and compounded the problems. The disgraceful pact made with the Liberal rump (within the House of Commons) in order to

allow Callaghan to continue as Prime Minister until 1978 or 1979 has been followed by an even more disgraceful pact with the Ulster members at Westminster—the latter, following the Powell line, accepting a Speaker's Conference recommendation which may increase the number of Northern Ireland seats at Westminster, the setting up of a glorified county council for Northern Ireland and complete integration of this part of Ireland within the United Kingdom.

It is, of course, the hope of Mr James Molyneaux (MP for Antrim at Westminster) that the 'council' could be a beginning of the restoration of the old Stormont parliament in which the Unionists would once again be triumphant. Local Unionist politicians, after hesitation about complete integration, have been persuaded to accept this line. No one need be in any doubt about the line being pursued by Paisley: he is also in favour of complete integration within the UK but sees himself as the 'bossman' in Northern Ireland.

There has thus been created a political vacuum in which violence and fear are the order of the day—and night. The British government has refused to move towards a Bill of Rights which would give democratic rights to all sections of the people. The Northern Ireland Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (representing over 250,000 manual and professional workers in the North) adopted a programme for 'A Better Life for All Campaign' in February 1976, with the following demands: the right to live free from violence, sectarianism, intimidation and discrimination; the right to security of employment and well-paid work; the right to associate freely and advocate political change by peaceful means; the right to good housing accommodation; the right to equality of good educational opportunity; and the right to adequate social services to protect the well-being and living standards of the old, the young, the sick and those out of work. The programme got one brief mention in the British House of Commons but the British government and Northern Ireland Office have never sought the support or views of the trade union movement, preferring to 'horse trade' with the Unionist MPs in the House of Commons rather than deal with the leaders of the working class.

Mr Kevin McNamara, the chairman of the British Labour Party Back-bench Committee on Northern Ireland, made a scathing attack on his government (July 20) over the setting up of the Speaker's Conference to recommend extra seats at Westminster for Northern Ireland. Perhaps Mr McNamara, who has proved a constant friend to the Irish people, has not delved deeply enough into Irish history

and does not fully understand the fact that, come hell or high water, the British administration is determined to hold on to the six north-eastern counties of Ireland. The *Irish Independent* of June 24, 1916, reported the following:

> In May 1916, when the British were endeavouring to 'settle' the Irish question by partition, Mr Lloyd George secretly sent a letter to Sir Edward Carson. (Carson was an Irish Unionist MP at Westminster.) That letter promised not only that partition would be permanent *but that it would not end even if the majority in the partitioned area wished it*. The letter, not made public for many years, was as follows: 'Whitehall Place, SW, May 29, 1916. My dear Carson, I enclose Greer's draft propositions, We must make it clear that at the end of the provisional period Ulster does not, *whether she wills it or not, merge in the rest of Ireland*. Ever sincerely, D. Lloyd George. Will you show it to Craig.' (The latter became Prime Minister of 'Ulster' and held the position until his death in the early 1940s.) [My emphases]

It is interesting to reflect on the above statement after some 62 years and to listen to homilies from people such as Callaghan, Rees, Mason, Whitelaw, Heath *et al*, to the effect that it is up to the people of Northern Ireland themselves to resolve the situation! It is also necessary to take note of the cries of the Provisional IRA, year after year, as the violence has continued, about 'the year of victory' and 'pushing the British out', the accusations made by Unionists during recent years that the British were going to 'opt out' and leave them to their fate within a united, free and independent Ireland. Many anti-Unionists, not least the leaders of the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP), campaigned for entry into the EEC in the belief that the unity of the country would be advanced, and many Unionists voted against entry for the same reason. Yet on May 29, 1916, the British imperialists had made their decision about Ireland and since then have kept the Irish working class—not least in the six counties—divided to perpetuate the interests of British monopoly capitalism in the whole of Ireland.

Today, when nearly 70,000 workers are unemployed, housing conditions are the worst in the whole of Western Europe, some 35 per cent of the population live below the poverty line, the future of our young people is 'bleak' (some 20,000 under 20 years of age without employment), the economy cuts bite deep into all public services, and we face astronomical increases in charges for rents, gas, electricity and public transport (with food prices higher than in Britain), the British government promises much to assist the multinationals but no real or sincere efforts are made to end violence, disunity, discrimination and sectarianism. Some 78 per cent of all manufacturing

industry is controlled from outside the North, plus banking, insurance, building societies and distribution.

Roy Mason has recently announced a £1,000 million 'tonic' for the province, upping all grants to the multinationals to increase their presence, helping investors looking for expansion opportunities, paying off outstanding loans by the Northern Ireland Electricity Service (NIES) to the Northern Ireland Loans Board (nearly £250 million) and advancing over a five-year period a further £100 million to cut down fuel costs to private industry—but not to domestic consumers. Mason stated that there was high unemployment and steps must be taken to go after vital orders 'that protect existing jobs and *sometimes provide new ones*' [my emphasis].

This is the old Unionist policy with a vengeance: maximum assistance (for private industry) and minimum interference. A new Economic Council, which will be 'independent', consisting of 15 members, to 'advise' on the government's economic 'planning' has been set up.

Into this picture has come the US President. He has promised that he will assist the people of Northern Ireland if the latter bring an end to the violence. He is alleged to have 'recognised' that the Irish government has a role to play in any 'settlement', and 'committed' his administration to supporting a system of government achieved by peaceful means (1776 and all that?), which would be acceptable to both sections of the community in the North. Some commentators have stated that Carter has 'internationalised' the Irish issue, and this has been warmly welcomed by the British government which has always refused to have the question dealt with at the United Nations!

Carter's statement does not affect, by one comma or full stop, present British policies in either Northern Ireland or the Republic of Ireland. One would think that Carter and his administration have many problems at home to deal with. His promise of financial aid, or persuasion of multinationals to expand their interests in Northern Ireland, is made against a background of some 12 million unemployed in the US. His appeal to the people of the North to 'get together' is made by an administration whose discrimination against 20 million black people and millions of others of the ethnic minorities in the US is known and detested all over the civilised world. His talk of peace—after the millions of deaths caused by US policies in Vietnam, Korea, Chile and the rest of Latin-America—is insulting.

Further divisions and animosities are developing within the Unionist front; the United Ulster Unionist Council no longer exists. With the aid of the Labour Westminster pact with the Unionist MPs

it is hoped to reunite the Unionists under the slogan of 'All the Way with the UK'. But there are many 'leaders' in the field and very little in the way of political perks to be picked up. Unfortunately, division is also creeping into the SDLP with further defections in the republican movement and an attempted re-creation of the old discredited Nationalist Party.

Such a situation assists the British administration in every way. Whilst the latter appears to have 'no policy' for dealing with the problems of Northern Ireland, its apparent inaction is its real policy. It intends to keep all sections at each others' throats and continue military rule in the interests of the multinationals.

At the present time, and for some time past, doubts are entering the minds of the 'loyalists' about Britain's intentions. Mason hopes to head off such doubts by his promise of economic aid—'beyond the dreams of Northern Ireland' he said when he announced the £1,000 million scheme over the BBC radio—and his pledges to go after the 'terrorists'. He boasts of the vast programme of prison construction, the numbers apprehended by the security forces and the overflowing prisons, but not the empty workshops.

The working class of Northern Ireland sought, and seeks, the aid of the British trade union and labour movement. Already, on two occasions, the British Trades Union Congress has adopted resolutions calling for a Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland. It is more than time that the British TUC got together with the Irish Congress of Trade Unions to work out ways and means by which this demand could be brought about. The 11½ million trade unionists could 'persuade' Callaghan that it is necessary to make provision for democratic rights for the people of Northern Ireland. Time and again, from here in the North, we have warned that the area, its people and their problems are being used as a rehearsal ground by the civil and military authorities so that Britain can 'learn lessons' about how to deal with 'urban guerrillas' and any others who 'step out of line'. The events surrounding the Grunwick dispute and the developing racism and actions against ethnic minorities within Britain increase one's fears in this direction. The attack on the British trade union movement, from all quarters, is not accidental. It is to be hoped that the Annual Conference of the British Labour Party will fully discuss the Northern Ireland resolutions on its agenda. One realises that the working class of Britain must in their own defence give ever more support to the struggle for democratic rights in Northern Ireland.

Workers here are taking up the challenge on the Better Life for All Campaign. Many sections are on strike against the wages policy

of the British government and its so-called 12 months rule (at a time when adult male earnings in Northern Ireland are upwards of £8-£9 a week lower than adult male earnings in Britain). The forces for progress are doing all in their power to bring out the class—and anti-imperialist—issues. They no longer wish to remain in the position where the people of Northern Ireland are the most 'prayed over' and 'preyed upon' people in what is called the 'free world'.

JOHN GOLLAN (1911-1977)

The death of John Gollan robs the British working class movement of one of its finest leaders. For more than 40 years in the leadership of the Communist Party, nearly 20 of them as General Secretary, and prior to that in the Young Communist League, his unique political ability and gifts were at the service of the whole movement.

He held firmly the view that a mass, organised party of socialism based on Marxism was vital for the winning of political power and socialism in Britain. But he always saw the contribution of that party, the Communist Party, in relation to the task of winning a united working class movement, in which the right wing had been defeated, and it was to this critical question for political advance in Britain that John Gollan in recent years directed much of his energy and writing.

An ardent internationalist and outstanding leader of the international Communist movement, John Gollan always saw the struggle for socialism in Britain in the context of the world wide struggle against imperialism. In his last article in *Labour Monthly*, he argued that it would be folly to underestimate imperialism's strength but showed how world political developments of recent years had resulted in a decisive tilt in the balance of world forces to socialism, national liberation and the working class movement. No one did more than John Gollan to ensure that our Communist Party and labour movement played a full part in that historic process.

His modesty and concern for others were as much an essential part of him as was his deep love of his native land, Scotland, its mountains, its culture and its working people.

We will honour his memory by carrying forward the struggle for the cause to which he devoted his life.

Gordon McLennan

John Gollan's articles in *Labour Monthly* included: *The Congress of Action and Youth in Industry* (1934,) *The Youth Charter* (1938), *Anti-Semitism* (1943), *Government Post-War Policy* (1944), *The Effect of Rearmament* (1948), *Labour Party's Election Programme* (1949), *The Margate Conference* (1950), *Frankfurt 'International'* (1951), *The New Fablans* (1952), *The Labour Party and the Election* (1955), *How to Fight the Tory Offensive* (1956), *A Significant Congress* (1959), *Fiftieth Anniversary of the Communist Party* (1970), *Unemployment Disaster* (1976).

NATIONAL FRONT

Graham Norwood

WE are now faced by a grave threat promoted by dangerous people. We cannot afford to take chances with the National Front. The NF's successes in recent by-elections, its powerful vote in the May local elections, and its brutal defiance manifested through provocative marches, must be the signal for the trade unions, the Labour Party and for the forces of the left in Britain to take firm, democratic action to stop the insidious poison of the extreme right.

The best known of the Front's policies are those on immigration. The term 'racialist' can easily be thrown at any political party because of one hastily considered speech, but only the National Front claims an overtly racialist stance. One of its spokesmen told the *Guardian* in June of this year: 'It is not something we admit to as a charge. It is something we proudly claim and boast. We don't apologise for our policy. We believe the preservation of the British people as an ethnic group is something we should not be ashamed of.' Those views are effectively put across by the NF's opportunist members, who leap at specific events, and attach oft-times fictitious racial connotations to them.

The slow influx of coloured immigrants to Scotland has led to the opening of NF branches in major cities north of the border, and the prospect of at least two Scottish constituencies being fought by NF candidates at the next general election.

Much of the Front's credibility still comes from Enoch Powell's Birmingham speech of 1968, in which he claimed the then rife American race riots were coming to Britain 'by our own volition and our own neglect.' Thankfully, there is no support for the strain of anti-semitism which still runs through much of the rationale behind the NF. The echoes of the Third Reich's National Socialism, of the evils of 'international Jewry' and of the alleged Zionist-Communist connection still reeks through many NF documents, and most of the Front's older supporters are known members of various Nazi movements which appeared in Britain in the two decades following the second world war.

Now the NF's supporters can even rely on police protection, as we saw at Ladywood and more particularly Lewisham. Democracy in 1939 meant a declaration of war on fascism. Democracy in 1977 means public money being spent to protect the remnants of Hitler's ideology.

Less publicised, though certainly no less important to the labour

movement, is the National Front's attitude towards trade unions. In its 'populist' phase of 1973 and 1974 it disguised its corporative tendencies by advocating repeal of the Tory Industrial Relations Act, supporting the miners' strike which led to the downfall of Heath's government, and calling for limited profit-sharing and the spread of workers' participation. Yet shortly afterwards, and more so since the NF's ideology turned still more sour in late 1974 and throughout 1975, their policies for the industrial wing of the labour movement became more like those of Mussolini in pre-war Italy.

The fascist dictator adopted the same procedure, forcing workers to accept fascist functionaries as their representatives and undertaking limited state intervention to ensure industrialists of a *status quo* situation—such was Mussolini's 'National Syndicalism'.

In the past three years the NF has taken a hard, though ambiguous line on its industrial aspirations. Ironically, in 1975 it changed its mind on the then defunct Industrial Relations Act and wanted all agreements between employers and trade unions enforceable by law; it now advocates a compulsory 'cooling-off' period before any strike, the dismissal of any Communist holding union office, a system of compulsory arbitration for certain types of dispute and—most appalling of all—the detention without trial of any union leader thought by the NF to be preventing an industry from resuming work after a dispute. Needless to say, the National Front is also against the closed shop.

These are the policies now being promulgated in British trade unions by members of the National Front Trade Union Association, formed in 1974 with two main objectives: to foster shop-floor racialism against a growing coloured workforce, and to offer an alternative to the predominantly leftist union leadership. It has done neither particularly well.

However, the NFTUA has supported the loyalists' strike of the Ulster Workers' Council against the 1974 Sunningdale Agreement, and there is evidence of informal NF support for the violence of para-military organisations like the Ulster Defence Association and the illegal Ulster Volunteer Force against Protestant workers reluctant to participate in Ian Paisley's abortive right-wing strike in May of this year.

These are the policies of the National Front. Can they be stopped, and if so how? The solution to the rise of fascism lies with the labour movement. Only a broad campaign, with co-ordination between the political and industrial wings of the movement, and anti-fascist forces even outside it, can work effectively in the interests of democracy.

Equally essential is the present link between the organised working class—the trade unions—and the mass force of the Labour Party. This must be strengthened.

British unions are unique in the world for their almost unanimous rejection in principle of the capitalist system which fuels the fires of the extreme right. They work as a formal body with a mass political party whose philosophy is to change society from the alchemy of the market to the order and fairness of socialism. That relationship is the king-pin of progressive change and the barrier to the spread of the right.

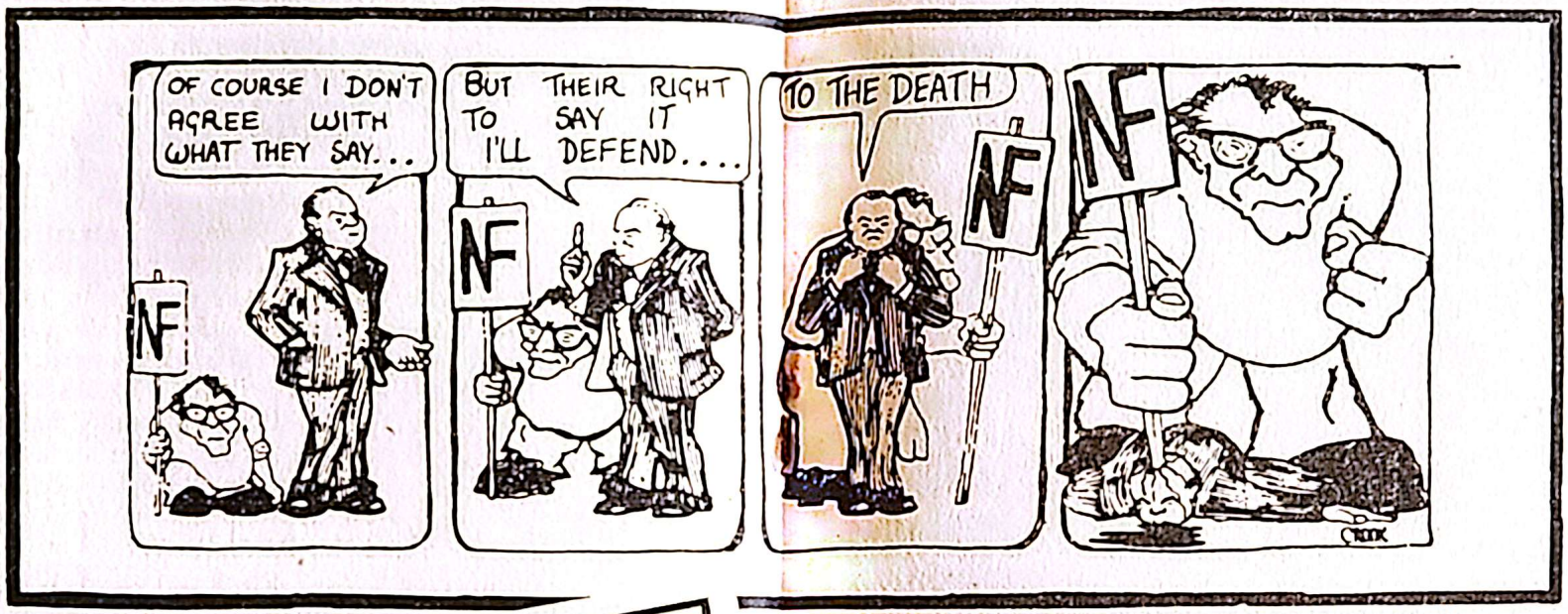
The method of stopping the right has been vividly shown this year. The hooliganism of the Socialist Workers' Party is understandable in part, particularly when emotion is shown by black workers whose communities are broken by the sight of marching ranks of fascists, spuriously chanting the words of freedom under the flutter of Union Jacks. However, we can all learn lessons from the thoroughness of Leicester Labour Party, whose actions in preparation for the May local elections are praiseworthy indeed.

Having foolishly ignored the fascist threat before, the Party staged a massive campaign in the local media, and through meetings and leaflets told the people exactly what voting for the NF meant. The National Front's share of the vote fell by nine per cent. Sadly, the opposite happened in London, especially in working class areas. With their policies heightened by inner-city decay, the NF gained frightening support; their share totalled more than 100,000 votes in the GLC elections.

Disenchantment is growing with Labour's recent activities in government: massive unemployment, falling living standards, the capitalist workings of the Common Market, the restraints on pay. They are all to blame, because they culminate to give the NF the platform from which to launch its doctrinal bigotry.

We must combat the trend, not only by implementing real socialist measures, but by actively getting the message across to voters that supporting the National Front is supporting the hate of Nazi Germany. Leafleting, publicity, debate: they must all go on, in Labour Party branch and constituency meetings, trade unions and other organisations of the left, permeating to the highest sections of our labour movement.

Our fight is not just for the future of our unions or our Party, but is also for the freedom and democracy we require in a radical and tolerant society. It is to our shame we did not act to crush such deep-rooted prejudice in 1945. Let us not make the same mistake again.

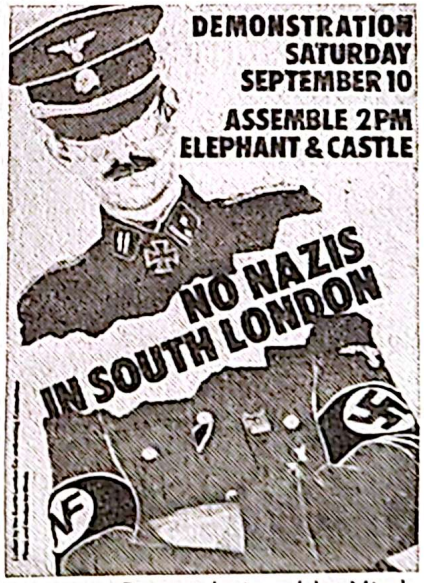


AGAINST FASCISM

By way of acknowledgement, the description of the way two cartoons have travelled may be comment enough.

Crook's strip was in *Hampstead Labour News*; they took it from a Hackney Committee Against Racism broadsheet; HCAR *thought* it came from another East End bulletin.

We found the Chile cartoon being reproduced in the New York *Voz del Pueblo*.



Poster designed by Minda for the South London Co-ordinating Committee

LETTERS

May Day

THE TAUNTON Constituency Labour Party in Somerset has written to Employment Secretary Mr Albert Booth, protesting at the recent decision to celebrate May Day on the first Monday in May even if it does not happen to be May 1:

'May Day has international and historic significance for the labour movement and the government is in danger of losing the opportunity for a demonstration of solidarity by British working people with their comrades all over the world. We ask that we be allowed to celebrate May Day in the true international tradition as socialists and trade unionists with the rest of the world whether it be with other socialists who celebrate joyously or with those who wait in jail particularly in Chile, Indonesia, Bolivia and Iran. We have waited many years to observe and declare May Day as our own. We in the labour and trade union movement are alarmed that a Labour government should devalue such an important socialist event for the sake of convenience.'

The Taunton CLP has also written to the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer regarding the social contract which was described as a major step forward in government and trade union relations. They believe that the co-operation of the labour movement to achieve victory at the next general election will be achieved only when socialist planning of income is allied to a programme of genuine socialist change. They see this as an extension of public ownership to include the land, banks and profitable sectors of manufacturing industry, the restoration of public spending cuts in areas relevant to the social wage and a programme for achieving adequate investment over the next ten years which would create the resources to provide an improvement in real wages.

They say that the jungle of wage rates can only be rationalised by socialist economic planning. Free collective bargaining was an important principle in a capitalist economy but society has responsibility to the low paid and the elderly and infirm which required a different approach from the government.

ROBERT CARUTH
Taunton, Somerset

Oswald Mosley

REFERRING to his Olympia meeting of the 1930s, Oswald Mosley, in a letter in the *Times* after the recent National Front demonstration in Lewisham, asserts that the anti-fascists 'were armed with such weapons as iron bars and razors.' I can assert, having been present in the capacity of a witness during the whole meeting, that this was definitely not so. The anti-fascists confined themselves to that time-honoured practice of heckling, something anyone who elects to address an assembly must learn to expect if members of the audience object to what the speaker says. It was very effective: Mosley continually came to a standstill under these verbal attacks while his blackshirts rushed about the hall evicting the hecklers. Where the violence of this event came from was made quite clear in the national press in the following days in statements made by many, certainly not convinced anti-fascists, expressing disgust and alarm at the brutal behaviour of Mosley's fascist army.

HILDA VERNON
London SE18

THE 'TENANTS HOUSING CHARTER'

Jack Woodburn
Treasurer
National Association of Tenants and Residents

THE experience of the British tenants' movement has taught the need to make articulate the long-held housing ideals of the people, to secure fundamental social and legal rights on behalf of tenants and to define the minimum conditions constituting a genuine solution of the housing problems of our country. A new Charter attempts to meet that need.

The Charter's demands cannot, of course, be accomplished in a trice; nor can they be accomplished by the tenants alone. It needs the united strength of the working class movement. In the programmes of the political parties tenants do not find full remedies for the problems affecting them. Above all, there is no recognition of a universal right to a decent, modern home.

Two-thirds of our homes are more than 70 years old. Most are poorly built; many still lack sanitation; almost all have been neglected; millions of them are congested, badly planned and designed. Before the housing problem can be declared extinct this degraded inheritance must be replaced.

Tenants cannot be satisfied by a mere restoration of inadequate, emergency-type Rent Acts. They need permanent legislation (as firm as Magna Carta) covering all types of houses which will establish their rights and put effective fetters upon bad landlords and autocratic local authorities.

High building costs, difficulty in borrowing, high interest rates and unstable state subsidies face the local councils with stupendous problems and they must either cease building or 'soak' their tenants if not the ratepayers.

Council tenants have no legal protection against the succession of rent rises attributed to these circumstances, just as they have no legal security of tenure. The basic conditions under which the councils operate must be radically altered. Tenants, and families on the long waiting lists, must campaign on a national scale (the councils co-operating if they will) with the solid backing of the unions.

Tenants compelled by housing scarcity to become houseowners are unduly burdened by heavy mortgage payments and lack protection against fraud and bad building. Proper repair of their homes is often

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—

R. GARLAND
General Secretary

J. BRADSHAW
President

beyond their power. Now, with the new proposals of the government being put into action by many councils, the mass sale of council houses can only make the position worse than ever, with only the 'better off' tenants being able to take up equity sharing.

There is no uniformity in rents of houses of the same size and worth, especially of houses in municipal ownership. A rationalisation is essential, but it must result in rent levels involving no deprivation in over-all living standards.

The purpose of the Housing Charter is to spread understanding among the whole of the people in order to create a force of opinion capable of influencing political parties to produce legislation and policies offering a total and eventual solution of all our problems as home-dwellers.

The Charter is, as well, a gospel for employment by everyone who wishes to help in that task and so play some role in obtaining civilised housing for all the people within one generation.

The principles of the original Charter were adopted at a national delegate conference, convened by the National Association of Tenants and Residents, held in London on April 27, 1958. The revised Charter was adopted at a National Conference in London on April 30, 1975, which formed the National Standing Conference to formulate the Charter in modern terms, as well as a National Tenants' Agreement. Further changes are possible to the Charter without destroying the non-partisan unity essential for housing progress in the near future; it aims to mobilise tenants and owner-occupiers (whatever their political differences) into local and national campaigning forces on behalf of their common interests as house-holders.

The fight for full security of tenure has long been the prime aim of our movement. Now this is highlighted by the recent decision by the Court of Appeal in the case of Mrs Alma Kelly versus Cannock Chase District Council. Mrs Kelly appealed against a Stafford County Court judgment giving possession of her home in Rugeley to Cannock District Council. Stafford County Court accepted that she was a good tenant and had not broken any term of her tenancy, but still gave possession to the Council.

The Appeal Court judges, supporting that judgment, ruled that the local authority's statutory powers (under Section III of the Housing Act 1957) to 'manage, regulate and control' its houses include the power to 'pick and choose tenants at will and to give notice to quit.' Lord Justice Megaw said there was nothing in law to suggest that a local authority serving notice to quit on a tenant had to give reasons.

Lord Justice Lawton said the local authority's duty to assess housing needs and to allocate resources might necessitate notices to quit being given to good tenants. This was consistent with proper management, regulation and control.

Even with security as our number one aim, without our second point, life could be unbearable. So housing shall not be concerned merely with the provision of a 'roof over a family's head' but also with amenities: meeting places for the community, shops, clinics, roads and transport and all the other social issues that help to determine the quality of life.

For point three, we say there should be no discrimination with regard to allocation. All tenants should have equal rights with regard to allocation, transfers and housing management practice. In particular, there should be no discrimination on grounds of race or religion.

Again we know that there are special cases, so we say areas of special housing need shall be met as of right. For example, the old, the handicapped, single parent families and others in special need should not be the subject of piecemeal provision but should be allocated accommodation as part of the general housing programme. This accommodation should, where necessary, incorporate special alterations *before* occupation.

We say that eviction should not be used as a method of dealing with long-term difficulties.

Over the years there has been growing discrimination with regard to many council tenants obtaining credit, often because they live on a particular council estate or in a particular area. Our Charter demands legislation to prevent any such discrimination.

We further require that as well as the Dos and Donts, the full obligations of the authorities should be clearly stated.

Above all, we say there must be recognition in law of the right to a home in a decent dwelling of sufficient size and in good repair, placed in healthy and well planned surroundings, and requiring a rent which can be afforded without deprivation of other natural needs. This involves the introduction of a national system of uniform and scaled rents applicable to dwellings in every type of ownership. It involves measures for the legal enforcement of repairs and periodical re-painting upon owners of every type, with a proviso that, should the owner fail to carry out that obligation within a reasonable period, the tenants have the right to have it done, and the cost can legally be recovered from the owner.

Another important point in the Charter: there must be enacted in

law a right to remain in occupation of a dwelling, as a permanent family home for as long as the tenant desires and with a successive right to a widow, and then a son or daughter, in turn to take over tenancy.

Thus the Charter affirms the right of every citizen to a home. It demands the acknowledgement of this right in law, as a social obligation no less imperative than education, health and welfare in a civilised society. It demands the freeing of rented housing and rents from the calculations of the property market, and the abolition of the unfettered ownership rights which private landlords, the municipalities and others claim for themselves and can invoke without legal check; it demands the adoption of a 20-year programme of new building.

This will require a great deal not only from the tenants, but from the whole of the working class movement. Unity is most important based on our battles against the cuts, for jobs, wages, price freeze, rent freeze, homes, education, welfare, transport, take what you will. They are all part of the same struggle, to bring about a change of government policy, to turn once again towards socialism.

WHITHER ISRAEL?

Julius Pilchick

THE victory of the extreme right-wing Likud Party in the April general election in Israel has generated apprehension among all those who wish to see a just and peaceful solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. The views of Mr Menachim Begin, leader of the party, are known well enough, and he has made no attempt after his election as Prime Minister in the new government to assure people that there has been any change of heart on his part.

For example, the provocative contention by Mr Begin soon after his election victory that Israel's occupation of Arab territory did not constitute annexation but 'liberation' was so breath-taking that even the *Times* was constrained to cry 'that those whom the Gods wish to destroy they first make mad.'

The *Financial Times* (May 19, 1977) quoted him as replying to a question about the future of the occupied territories: 'What occupied territories? Judea, Samaria (West Bank of Jordan), and the Gaza Strip are an integral part of Israel!' Zionist appetite obviously grows with the eating . . . and damn the consequences.

The *Times* (May 26, 1977) reported the statement of a Mr Shoval,

'a banker who has spent four years with Mr Begin on the Likud executive', that 'a firm Zionist policy of keeping the West Bank will restore Jewish confidence and *encourage large-scale immigration*' (my emphasis).

Mr Moshe Dayan, former general and member of the previous governing Labour Alliance, has slid effortlessly from his old allegiance to become Defence Minister in the government of Mr Begin. In an article in the *Jewish Chronicle* (June 10, 1977) entitled 'Settling in Samaria' he wrote with calculated ambivalence: 'I do not go along with those who contend that we have an absolute right to Judea and Samaria. . . . At the same time I do view Judea and Samaria as our ancient homeland, and so far as this depends on us I do not want to be considered an alien there. . . .'

In this roundabout way Mr Dayan is in perfect harmony with Mr Begin. This harmony is not entirely fortuitous, for the policies of the previous 'Labour' Alliance differed from Mr Begin's only in degree, not in kind. The policy of establishing new settlements in the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip and on the West Bank has been going on since 1969. Eighty such settlements have been created in that time involving the eviction of many thousands of Arabs from their homes.

Mr Meir Vilner, general secretary of the Israeli Communist Party, in his assessment of the defeat of the Labour Alliance said: 'The fundamental cause of Labour's defeat was the fact that, both in its political and economic policies, there was no visible distinction between them and the right' (*Der Veg*, May 19, 1977).

It is no wonder therefore that Labour's representation in the Knesset (the Israeli parliament) fell from 51 to 32, a loss of almost 40 per cent, the most severe defeat suffered by that party since it assumed power on the foundation of the state.

This community of views between the Labour Alliance and Likud was expressed on March 15, 1972, when the parties of the then government coalition and Mr Begin's Likud Party confirmed an 'Israeli Covenant' declaring that the historic right of the Jewish people to Palestine (Eretz Israel) is indisputable, i.e. that the *whole country* belongs to the Jewish people. That this might be entirely unacceptable to the Palestinians was, it seems, not considered worthy of a second thought.

The major cause of Labour's defeat, however, was the disastrous economic and social consequences of these misconceived notions masquerading as national policy.

Mr Abraham Levenbraum, a Communist Deputy in the Knesset, revealed in the course of a recent debate on the budget that military

expenditure amounted to 63 per cent of proposed spending, and that 'the total military allocation in the present budget (1977-78) amounts to £I. 76,425 million, 59 per cent of GNP' (Information Bulletin of the Communist Party of Israel, February 1, 1977).

For a small state with a population of about three million this is a colossal indulgence in military madness the consequences of which are being increasingly felt by the Israeli people in terms of constantly deteriorating living conditions and the unnerving state of no war-no peace or the possibility of another war at any time.

This extreme militarisation of the economy is imposing very heavy burdens on the people. Taxation, compared with 1976, has, according to the same source, increased by 41 per cent, there have been regular devaluations of two per cent every 30 days (creeping devaluation, so-called) which, according to the annual report of the Bank of Israel for 1976, led to an increase in prices of 38 per cent.

Mr B. Gonen, a member of the Communist faction in the Histadrut (Israeli trade union federation), speaking during a debate on the economy at the Histadrut executive, pointed out that 'according to official data the price rise in Israel during the last five years was 185 per cent, while in Britain it was 88 per cent' (reported in the newspaper *Zo Haderek*).

The price the Israeli masses are paying for the devious policies of their Zionist leadership is indeed very heavy. Under the guidance of Mr Milton Friedman, the reactionary American economist who has been invited by the Begin government to advise them on economic policy, their burdens will increase and, in fact, have already increased with the removal of subsidies on fuel, water energy and many other items vital to the people's needs.

The quest for peace is still being frustrated by the unremitting policy of annexation by previous and present governments.

The meeting between Mr Begin and President Carter was described by the *Sunday Times* as 'euphoric' (July 30, 1977), and the *Economist* reported (July 23, 1977): 'President Carter and Mr Begin collided into one another with the impact of two jellies.'

In the course of the 'euphoric' exchanges at the airport on his arrival in the US Mr Begin, like some of his predecessors, used the persuasive argument that 'we are defending American interests,' a role indeed which, bitterly resented by the Arabs, has frustrated all attempts at a lasting solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

As there was no official statement or joint communiqué after the talks one can only draw conclusions from subsequent developments.

Within hours of Mr Begin's return to Israel his government,

despite previous protests by the US, Britain and others, legalised the establishment of three new settlements on the West Bank: Eylon Moreh, Offra and Maale Adummim, despite the fact that this act is contrary to Article 49 of the fourth Geneva Convention, which forbids changes in the status of occupied territories.

This act is presumably to be followed further by similar provocative actions. The *Economist* (July 30, 1977) notes that spokesmen for Gush Emunim, a militant religious group, have 'whipped out a grand programme for a line of 12 new settlements on the West Bank, starting in the north and running through Nablus, the Jordan Valley and Jericho before swinging back south of Hebron and back up to Ramallah.'

Acts such as these belie the credibility of Mr Begin's proposals for peace talks 'without preconditions'. So far, Mr Carter's reaction has been merely an expression of 'regret' which would imply that the Carter-Begin talks have produced no positive moves towards a just and peaceful solution.

The mission of Mr Cyrus Vance, the US Secretary of State, to the Middle East has further underlined the peculiar manoeuvrings at present in play in which vital issues are at stake.

The proposal by President Sadat of Egypt (who seems to be vying with Mr Begin for the role of defender of American interests: 'Let's all trust Carter') for the setting up of a working committee of Arab foreign ministers (excluding Palestinian representatives) before the recall of the Geneva Conference appears to be a delaying action, the consequences of which can only be further uncertainty and frustration, particularly since, as the *Financial Times* (August 4, 1977) points out, 'the price of the Egyptian initiative appears to be the relegation, perhaps temporarily, of the PLO to the status of non-participants in the negotiations.' Isolation and exclusion of the Palestinians, whose case is the core of the entire problem, must still further defer a peaceful settlement.

The Israeli condition for peace is the recognition of the state of Israel. Obviously, therefore, they must reciprocate by recognising the right of the Palestinians to their own national identity and a home in which to embody it.

The Geneva Conference must be reconvened without further delay. Soviet peace proposals, which have so far been ignored, must be discussed. These proposals are: Israel must withdraw from all territories occupied in 1967; the right of all Middle East states (including Israel) to independent existence and security should be guaranteed; if the contracting parties so desire, the observance of the

provisions of the peace agreement could be guaranteed by the United Nations Security Council, and possibly also by powers such as the Soviet Union, the United States, France and Britain. The guarantor states could have their observers with the UN contingents stationed in the demilitarised zones (*New Times*, April 1977).

No exception can justly be taken to these proposals.

NATO THREAT OF INCREASED ARMS BUDGETS

Ron Huzzard*

SINCE its 1973 annual conference the Labour Party has had clear policies on matters relating to the East-West arms race. These include: a cut back in Britain's military spending by £1,000 million a year (at 1974 prices); an end to policies based on the use or threatened use of nuclear weapons; the closing down of British and US nuclear bases in these islands. The two election manifestos of 1974 contained only a watered-down version of these policies but they did promise the following:

> . . . we shall, in consultation with our allies, progressively reduce the burden of Britain's defence spending to bring our costs into line with those carried by our main European allies.
>
> We shall participate in the multilateral disarmament negotiations and, as a first step, will seek the removal of American Polaris bases from Great Britain.
>
> We have renounced any intention of moving towards a new generation of strategic nuclear weapons.
>
> The ultimate objective of the movement towards a more satisfactory relationship in Europe must be the mutual and concurrent phasing out of Nato and the Warsaw Pact.

On nuclear weapons and Polaris bases Labour's own proposals have been completely ignored by the present government. There has, during the past twelve months, been a growing build up of US nuclear weapon-carrying aircraft at bases in Britain.

On May 16 and 17, 1977, several defence correspondents revealed that Britain herself is now developing new nuclear weapons including mini-H bombs for the RAF, new warheads for the four Polaris sub-

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* Ron Huzzard is the Publications Editor of Labour Action for Peace.

marines and nuclear shells for the army. In parliament Defence Minister Fred Mulley has denied none of these reports.

The economic case for Labour's arms cuts policy is spelt out in the new report prepared by the Party's National Executive Committee study group, chaired by Ian Mikado MP. It makes clear that implementing the 1973 demand for a £1,000 million annual cut now requires a reduction of Britain's arms spending by £1,800 a year (at 1977 prices). In 1973 this country's military budget stood at £3,365 million. Today it has risen to £6,328 million.

Undoubtedly some of the cash increase arises from inflation, but this cannot hide the fact that Britain's proportion of gross national product (GNP) devoted to arms remains at around 5.5 per cent whilst the West European average is still about 4.0 per cent. Since 1974 there have been no real cuts in military spending as Labour Party policy has repeatedly called for.

The study group's report answers the 'arms spending means jobs' argument. In fact high military expenditure has meant a misuse of resources and under-investment compared with many of our main industrial competitors. Investment in arms projects provides less jobs than an equivalent investment in the non-military field, largely due to the high capital and research and development costs of modern weaponry.

The Callaghan government has subordinated 'everything' to 'fighting inflation' yet arms spending is a major cause of inflation ignored by most financial experts. C. Gordon Tether, an exception, put it this way in an *Observer* article (April 10, 1977):

> . . . global military spending is now running at over £175,000 million a year. High military expenditure is one of the most potent forces behind the global inflation menace—it involves the spending of vast sums of money on things that add nothing to living standards and that cannot be consumed except in war . . .

Will the British government follow the advice of the Labour Party's own policy makers and cut arms spending? The prospects are gloomy. Instead of cuts there is a very real threat of a steep increase in Britain's military budget. At its May meeting Nato endorsed a policy proposed by US Defence Secretary Harold Brown. This called on *all* Nato states to *increase* arms spending in *real terms* by 3 per cent per annum over a five year period commencing in 1978. President Carter has reiterated this policy. Adoption of Nato's latest policies will mean Britain's arms bill rocketing to over the £10,000 million mark by the end of this decade!

Apart from the economic burden, Nato's plans represent an intensification of the arms race at a time when the Belgrade Conference is seeking to improve East-West relations. President Carter seems to have forgotten the nuclear disarmament promises made before he entered the White House. He has given the go-ahead for production of Cruise missiles and allocated funds for the neutron bomb.

Next year the Special UN Assembly on Disarmament is due to take place and 1977 should have been the year when major steps were being taken towards disarmament and terminating the cold war. There is urgent need for the British government at last to accept the Labour Party's own disarmament plans.

LABOUR MONTHLY FIFTY YEARS AGO

In 1909 Great Britain granted self-government to South Africa—a government of white men, who refused to allow the natives of the land to take part in their political councils. . . .

The beginning of 1919 witnessed the formation of the first trade union for African workers . . . you must know that just as the pioneers of English trade unionism have gone through fearful things . . . so our officials have been gaoled, our members have been shot and victimised, and every possible obstacle has been put in our way. . . .

We are not fighting the white man as a white man; we are fighting for elementary political and human rights for ourselves and our children. We want adequate wages for the work we do, social status, opportunities of education, and the ordinary privileges of humanity, which the white man takes as a matter of course.

(From 'The Old and the New Africa' by Clements Kadalie, National Secretary, Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of South Africa, *Labour Monthly*, October 1927)

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ALAN SAPPER
General Secretary

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The Scottish miners send fraternal greetings to all delegates and visitors to the Labour Party Annual Conference and express their solidarity with all those struggling to improve the living standards of ordinary working class people in Britain.

MICHAEL McGAHEY
President

DAVID BOLTON
Vice-President

WILLIAM McLEAN
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greet delegates to the Labour Party Conference and back the campaign for education as a right and for full employment

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From the Media

The Committee for the Scientific Investigation of Claims of the Paranormal . . . pointed to 200 cases of people known to have killed themselves as the result of believing an unfavourable horoscope, palm reading or other alleged forecast of their future. . . . A typical university bookshop . . . would probably have almost 100 volumes promoting paranormal and occult topics but fewer than a dozen debunking books.

(Ian Ball, *Daily Telegraph*, August 11, 1977)

For 10 years you have made proclamations about us, the creative intelligentsia, who are not free in the Soviet Union. We are now here before you in your country. Why do you deny us the right to express our views in the pages of your allegedly free press?

(From 3,000 leaflets distributed outside *New York Times* building in May 1977. Article by Valentin Prussakov, *Times*, August 9, 1977)

A colleague was approached during the FT's recent absence by a neighbour's young daughter. She asked if he could find any old copies of the paper for her, explaining: 'My pet rabbit will only eat the *Financial Times*. I gave it the *Guardian*, but it got indigestion.'

(Observer in *Financial Times*, August 26, 1977)

Britain's 120,000 junior and middle rank police officers have told the government they need pay rises of between 78 and 104 per cent to keep abreast of inflation. They have demanded that their increases be payable from next Thursday.

(Clive Borrell, *Times*, August 27, 1977)

Making Liberals look attractive, or even different, in seats defended by Labour is not easy nowadays.

(*Economist*, August 27, 1977)

Britain's new, slimmed-down £1 note—due to be introduced next year . . . is the last of the singularly ugly series introduced in 1968. . . . A sea-sick Sir Isaac Newton will take over the back from the present underwater Britannia.

(*Economist*, August 27, 1977)

Wives can charge their husbands for sex, the South African Supreme Court ruled today. But . . . not to overcharge.

(*Times*, September 2, 1977)

Mrs Thatcher, spending the weekend in Houston . . . modestly suggested that one day Britain would be the Texas of Europe. Her well-dressed wealthy and conservative audience at the English Speaking Union loved the idea and applauded her warmly.

(Ann Morrow, *Daily Telegraph*, September 12, 1977)

THEATRE

State of Revolution
Robert Bolt
National Theatre/Lyttelton

ROBERT BOLT squashes some of the most momentous events in human history into two and a half hours of entertainment. He begins in 1910 with Lenin and Gorky at a party school in Capri and ends with Stalin's rise to power after Lenin's death. Obviously we cannot have everything in between and the choice is the playwright's, but what do we get? Innumerable meetings attended by Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, Lunacharsky, Dzerzhinsky, Gorky, Kollontai and Krupskaya discussing the revolution. There is nothing wrong with that as such (some of Chekhov's best plays are little more than meetings round the samovar) but in Bolt's case it has turned into a Hamlet without the prince. Where are the people for whom this revolution was planned and finally achieved, and whose lives were meant to and did get a new meaning through it? Because of this crucial weakness in the play we do not get the feeling that world history is being made in front of our eyes, though the seven bolsheviks are constantly discussing it. The Kronstadt revolt incidentally is given more time, more details, more behind the scene noises than the whole of the October revolution, the civil war or the wars of intervention.

It is still a theatrical evening you will not forget in a hurry, and it will set you thinking and reading for a long time. Let us hope that those in the very appreciative audience who felt cheated at times will go back to Robert Bolt's sources.

B. N.

SOGAT

Society of Graphical & Allied Trades

SOGAT sends fraternal greetings to all Labour Party members.

It pledges its continued support for policies directed to creating a democratic society.

W. H. Keys
General Secretary

A. E. Powell
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BOOKS

A Fine Old Conflict
Jessica Mitford
Michael Joseph, 270 pp, £5.95

THIS IS A BOOK with values at several levels. It's autobiography. It's history. And for Communists it's a special study course.

As the first it carries further the very readable story of Jessica Mitford, one of the more talented of the peculiar Mitford family—one sister was a novelist (and inventor of the term 'U' for upper-class speech), another married Mosley, a third shot herself over Hitler, the last became a duchess. Jessica herself ran off and married a rebellious second cousin (nephew of Winston Churchill) and both went to bat for republican Spain (see her first volume, *Hons and Rebels*).

Later the couple migrated to America, only for the young man to join the Canadian Air Force when war broke out, and be killed in action in 1941. This (second) volume tells of her new life in the US, her adventures in keeping her head above water, her happy and productive second marriage with a lawyer from the Bronx, their joint war-time and post-war struggles as members of the US Communist Party until finally she resigned membership.

The narrative is vivid and lively, but on the personal level the reader may sometimes find it difficult to identify fully with the author, so out-of-the-way has been her upbringing and outlook. She will not be everybody's cup of tea.

On the 'events' level, however, it provides an absorbing glimpse of what it was like for so many American intellectuals to live and maintain the battle for progressive causes throughout the pressures of the McCarthy days. An invaluable 'history-without-tears' for the new generation.

And the lesson specially for us? There can be no question that Jessica Mitford is a woman of great courage, of gaiety and determination, loyal and effective in the social causes she has embraced both inside and outside the Party. (Her two famous social studies, *The American Way of Death*, on the exploitation of the grief of the bereaved by the undertaking business, and *The American Prison Business*, its abuses and abominations, have both been so well written, so thoroughly researched and documented and so fearlessly challenging as to rank among the prime polemical weapons of our day.) True that to most of us what she calls the 'abysmal mistakes' of the US Communist Party will seem less a justifiable ground for having quitted than reason for an intensified effort to help it to do better. But the author is emphatically no renegade. At the end, looking through the copy of her FBI file that has come into her hands, her summing-up is that she 'felt an unbecoming surge of pride, not unmixed with gratitude to the Communist Party for all it taught her, for the avenues it opened up for her to take part in what she perceived as the crucial issues of the day. . . . Did we not, in fact, leave something of a heritage—however limited—for future radical movements to inherit?'

It is by no means unsalutary for us to read the occasional insensitivity, sectarianism and bureaucracy that she encountered but mostly took in her stride, or to pay heed to her appended tail-piece (a sort of parody of her sister's pamphlet on 'U') on 'L'—the jargon of the left wing. After all, who amongst us is totally exempt from these vices? And the author has an air of rubbing them in less for nit-picking then with a sort of niggling affection. With due humility this can remind us

forcefully of how wide the 'welcome' door must ever be kept open to achieve a mass movement and the strengthening we can bring to our own contribution by obeying the poet's injunction 'to see oorsels as ithers see us.'

IVOR MONTAGU

A Science in its Youth
A. Anikin
Progress (Central Books), 390 pp, £2.50

THOUGH primarily for economists, this book is written in such a way that many non-economists will find it useful and entertaining. It is indeed a delight to read a history of economic thought which portrays Marx in his correct position and at the same time comments on developments all over Europe and the US.

Each economist is treated against his own social background and many amusing anecdotes appear which, a few years back, would have been inconceivable in a serious Soviet economic work. Particularly may be singled out the adventures of the charysmatic Charles Law in Paris (pp 101-7), the 'canonisation' of Robinson Crusoe by economists (p 118 *et seq*), the work of Benjamin Franklin in the US with his 'Poor Richard' aphorisms (pp 144-5), Adam Smith's denunciation of 'the soverieign . . ., officers both of justice and war . . ., the whole army and navy' as 'unproductive labourers', together with 'churchmen, lawyers, physicians, men of letters . . ., players, buffoons, musicians, opera-singers, dancers, etc' (p 213), which may not today be acceptable in all its details, but the core of a fundamental idea is there all the same.

The author makes one comment which rings a bell with the present reviewer: 'The increase in prices by monopolies, which is usually represented as the result of an increase in real wages, is one of the main factors of modern inflation. Naturally this question merits the most concentrated attention of Marxist economists' (p 243). As one of the very few Marxist economists to have drawn attention to this fact in Britain (see *Marx and the Orthodox Economists*, Blackwell, 1973; 'Monopoly Prices, Exploitation and Inflation', *Marxism Today*, February 1974, and note on 'British Capitalism since the War', ibid, February 1977), this 'aside' by Anikin is most welcome.

PAT SLOAN

Man, Society and the Environment
Progress (Central Books), 340 pp, £1.50

ANY SOCIALIST, communist or other left winger who does not wish to be left behind by events must read this book which sets new priorities for socialism. Hitherto we have thought in terms only of the monetary and military exploitation of man by capital. This book, written in sections by various Soviet authors, shows two things: (1) capitalism is destroying the very foundations of life on earth by wrecking the environment and wasting limited resources (Part I, chapter 3); page 333 shows capitalism incapable of dealing rationally with the environment; (2) socialism in the USSR is planning (and to some extent is carrying out) rational use of resources in order to get the maximum out of them while keeping the environment in a viable condition. Indeed it outlines the nature of the enormous scientific research necessary to do this (p 334).

Just as capitalism broke at its weakest link in Russia in 1917, so today the environment is breaking down where the strain is greatest, in the US and the third world. Consequently, US scientists have published

a great deal of material on this.

Scientists in the USSR have also come to realise that the continued exponential expansion of population and manufacture are exhausting the earth of its natural resources (soil, oxygen, fresh water, minerals, etc) but —and here is the crux of the matter— a huge programme of scientific research is necessary to halt this process and optimise the use of natural resources (p 334).

A great deal has been said about the developing fuel shortage and the possibility of drastic climatic change by increasing the carbon dioxide content of the atmosphere by burning such large quantities of fuel. Nothing, or very little, has been said about the consequent oxygen shortage. This book deals with both. The total amount of oxygen in the air is several times less than the amount needed (pp 147 and 256).

Conservation of natural resources started in the US about 1960 but so far only pollution and nature reserves are being attended to. The most important measures of conservation cannot be put into operation without curtailing the policy of big business: maximisation of profit. In the USSR nature conservation is compulsory in teachers' training (p 106), and conservation societies have a membership of 30 million (p 107). Can we ignore a policy which is regarded as 'the key to Soviet economic planning' and the subject of first priority (p 10)? At the end of the book it is requested that you send your comments to Moscow.

Of course it is unreasonable to expect that any book should not have faults, but the faults in this book are far outweighed by the enormous positive content.

Though the facts are presented and well documented with statistics (often from several sources), there is insufficient space given to highlighting the consequences of modern reckless and unplanned use and waste of nature. But a thoughtful and careful reader will be able to sort this out for himself. There are some long, boring and verbose passages but these constitute a minor portion of the book. The really significant part starts on p 144.

'Soviet Economic Development,' Part II, gives a very thorough outline of the process of planning Soviet economy. It leaves you uncertain as to whether increase in production takes precedence over conservation.

The alarming exponential rate of world population increase is given on pp 23 and 262, and the estimated limits of world population (on food production) by various authorities are given on p 312, but Malthus is condemned (p 332)—official policy— although the book states that it is necessary to limit population increase (p 312). No conclusions are given as to what will happen when the population grows beyond these limits, nor is anything said about what will happen to the quality of life when the population expands to above the estimated figure of six thousand million by the year 2000.

The exhaustion of fresh water supplies by growing demand is dealt with on pp 170-3 and 249, and the urgency of fresh water conservation is pointed out (p 182). This suggests that Russian scientists know that the limits of fresh water supplies will soon be reached despite rational use and waste water treatment, but that they must not counter the policy of continuous economic expansion.

Communists and socialists have so far paid little attention to the warnings of British, American and European scientists concerning the run-down of the earth's resources. Perhaps they

will now give the necessary priority to this matter which has been so conclusively dealt with in this symposium. Let it be noted that the book several times points out that man can only be saved from environmental catastrophe by international conservation, because the atmosphere and oceans are a unified whole.

STEVE JACOBY

Linguistic Minorities in Western Europe
Meic Stephens
Gomer Press, 796 pp, £9.50

AT FIRST SIGHT it may appear difficult to understand what linguistics have to do with left-wing or nationalistic politics. Yet the issue is clearly present. As Padrang Pearse urged in Irish politics during the struggles of the Gaelic League, a nation which has lost its language has lost its nationhood. In an age when national independence has become a living issue for many groups, the struggle to maintain minority languages is clearly relevant. The Celtic countries are striving to revive and keep alive their native languages. It is not without interest that they have all suffered from colonialism in some shape or form and this has frequently been accompanied by a vigorous attempt on the part of the imperialist power to stamp out the native language. In Brittany, the French have done their best to eradicate Breton. England was the sworn foe of the Irish, Welsh and Scots languages. But there is now a definite revival. Scots Gaelic, never lost in Wester Ross and the Isles, is putting up a fight for survival. The activities of the Welsh Language Society are well known and are closely linked to nationalist politics. Irish nationalism owes much to the Gaelic League and the language revival. Cultural movements are now bringing Cornish and Manx into a state of rebirth. Language issues could well assume an increasingly political momentum.

It is often forgotten that the Celtic language issue is only a part of the general story of minority language in the West. Meic Stephens is a considerable authority in this field and has produced a work of encyclopedic learning. It deserves a wide circulation and discussion. Nationalism has become one of the greater issues since the second world war. It is perfectly true to say that it can throw up highly undesirable features. The nationalism of the Nazi is as much a distortion as is the Highland spectre of the tartan Tory laird. But socialism demands an internationalism attained through a growing together based upon the throwing aside of every vestige of colonialism. This aspect, so well understood some sixty years ago by John Maclean, has become a living issue for the contemporary socialist. It is a search for a nationalism which does not forget the wider social and economic struggles. In considering these points, the work of Meic Stephens is of a value which cannot be exaggerated.

F. H. AMPHLETT MICKLEWRIGHT

Structural Anthropology
Claude Lévi-Strauss
Allen Lane, 384 pp, £6.50

IT CAN BE SAID at the outset that this is not a book that is essential for every militant worker's bookshelf. It is not an absolute priority to borrow from the library either. It is a collection of essays by a (the?) leading figure in the application of structuralist thought to ethnology, the study of some ill-defined set of societies called primitive or sometimes non-literate. In twentieth-century Britain (and France to a lesser extent) there has been a succession of anthropologist cult heroes, Sir James Frazer, Margaret Mead and Lévi-

Strauss. Non-Marxist writers have used their writings to escape from confrontation with Marx (and Freud); since Marxists have used them and particularly Lévi-Strauss for the same purpose (especially in the 1960s) it is interesting to see what Lévi-Strauss says. The book is divided into four parts: the first provides a view of Lévi-Strauss's general perspectives on anthropology with characteristically patriotic bows towards Rousseau and Durkheim. The second and third parts are the most interesting and controversial to the professional anthropologist.

In the fourth and final part of the book, the author criticises correctly the use that has been made of structuralism in literary criticism and elsewhere. It is in his short occasional pieces in part four that his ideology is most clearly revealed as romantic and humanist. He writes, for example, that 'one of the great evils of *urban civilisation* is, as we know, that it dissociates consumption from production: it exacerbates the former and drains the latter of its creative feeling' (p 285, emphasis added), and continues:

'Man will be helped to feel more closely bound to the system of beings and things before which the creative mind feels singular modesty and respect. This will be done by making the best use of all the opportunities that industrial society leaves for the individual to test himself as creator, and by revealing to him those in which he is indeed, unknown to himself, a creator (for instance, as a speaking subject).'

A starting point of recognising, similar to William Morris (and of course Rousseau). But Morris, of course, recognised that people, even or especially in capitalist society, could and would create organisations through the working class and it was these that would create change. Paradoxically, like many lesser anthropologists, Lévi-Strauss has little understanding of social forms rather than individual aspirations. It is for these reasons that his writing is on the one hand seductive especially to urbanised academics, and on the other has its main relevance in the reaction against it by younger French writers on society like Althusser, Balibar, Meillassoux, Terray and Rey, as well as by Marxist students of literature. The collected essays of Lévi-Strauss have already joined those of Rousseau as historical documents.

RON FRANKENBERG

Women in the Kibbutz
Lionel Tiger and Joseph Shepher
Penguin, 334 pp, £1.95

Communism and the Emancipation of Women
Helena Sheehan
Communist Party of Ireland, 22 pp, 30p

THE AUTHORS of *Women in the Kibbutz*, though concentrating on the position of women also provide a very useful general description of the organisation, life and work in the kibbutzim—today comprising around 100,000 people of four generations. Their sociological apparatus is impressive and helps to underline their case, that even though women in the kibbutzim have legal, political, economic and educational equality with men—this being one of the major ideological tenets of the kibbutz movement since its earliest days—women generally make only partial use of this equality and *voluntarily* forgo managerial or other leading positions in the hierarchy of the kibbutz. 'The higher the authority of an office or committee, the lower the percentage of women in it. At the highest level of the kibbutz women make up only 14 per cent of the personnel' (p 262). The *voluntary* aspect of this renunciation on the

part of so many kibbutz women is stressed by the authors throughout the book. Very early on they state: 'We were . . . unprepared to discover, as several previous researchers had in specific kibbutzim, a strong, general, and cumulative tendency of women and men to become less, rather than more, similar in what they do and evidently want to do' (p 6). Thus the authors also established that most kibbutz women do not hanker after strenuous physical work in either industry or agriculture and much prefer what the authors classify as female sex-typed occupations (those that show a deviation of at least 20 per cent from the sex ratio of the total population), such as medicine, teaching, child care, cooking, tailoring, store keeping and clerical work. Furthermore they choose to have several children, with contraceptives freely available; and children's houses, which were the pattern in early kibbutzim are now gradually giving way to apartment houses, where children sleep under their parents' roof, largely on the instigation of kibbutz mothers, who prefer a more 'familistic' approach to living.

Questionnaires and interviews further revealed that kibbutz women are passionately interested in their children's welfare and education, an interest which they appear to combine successfully with full time work and professional careers. But there are also, in spite of all the advanced ideologies on women's equality prevailing in the kibbutz movement, some rumblings of the 'washing-up syndrome', even though most meals are communally cooked, eaten and washed up.

All these findings are arrived at with a welter of statistics, charts, graphs, questionnaires and interviews and not the least by observation (Joseph Shepher has lived within the kibbutz movement for twenty-eight years, most recently as a research sociologist). Perhaps it is too much to expect that such a book should escape anti-Sovietism altogether, but it could have been a lot worse.

At the risk of offending three authors in one go with this comparison, L. Tiger and J. Shepher have done for the kibbutz women what William Mandel has done for Soviet women: that is they have given us the plain facts of a situation in which women are rid of the shackles which still hinder them at every step under capitalism (and that includes Israel outside the kibbutzim) from developing in the direction of full liberation, if not of full equality as understood by the women's liberation movement.

How much further these kibbutz women are on the path towards libera-

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PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Marx and the Third World, Umberto Melotti. Macmillan, 222 pp, £3.95.
Shop Stewards in Action, Eric Batsone and others. Blackwell, 316 pp, £10.
Socialism with a German Face, Jonathan Steele. Jonathan Cape, 256 pp, £6.95.
Scotland and Nationalism, Christopher Harvie. Allen & Unwin, 318 pp, £3.95.
Adapting Working Hours to Modern Needs, D. Maric. ILO, 50 pp, £3.35.
The First Shop Stewards' Movement, James Hinton. Allen & Unwin, 352 pp, £3.50.
Islam and Capitalism, Maxime Rodinson. Penguin, 306 pp, £1.20.
Russia: The People and the Power, Robert G. Kaiser. Penguin, 450 pp, £1.25.
The New France, John Ardagh. Penguin, 734 pp, £1.95.

tion can be judged if we look at how our sisters fare in Ireland both north and south. Helena Sheehan in *Communism and the Emancipation of Women* tells the sorry tale of Irish women, who must be among the most unequal in Europe. It is no accident that it is one of Ireland's most famous sons who said that 'the worker is a slave of capitalist society; the female worker is the slave of a slave.' But the situation of women in Ireland is not her main subject, she is concerned with what should be the attitude of Communists to women's liberation, feminism and women in capitalist and socialist countries. In my view it represents the first unambiguous statement by a Western Communist on the women's question, and I warmly recommend it to all those concerned with getting an honest, principled and unhysterical answer.

BRIDGET NICOLSON

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LABOUR MONTHLY sellers at the TUC brought the journal to the attention of delegates most energetically: engineers, boilermakers, locomen, miners, teachers and public employees were among delegates who gave part of their time at Congress to this task. Over 150 copies were ordered for sale at the TUC, and two more sale-or-return orders were put in by readers who saw the importance of the article by Richard Briginshaw and thought they might sell copies to friends with a special interest in the future of Britain's media. (The future of *Labour Monthly* depends on increasing its circulation, and without any chance of large-scale commercial advertising.)

As far as October is concerned, we hope to improve on last year's sale at the Labour Party conference. Delegates there have not in past years sold as actively as at the TUC, but things may be better now. We have advance orders from NUM and ASTMS members, and we know others are on the way. We should be able to cope with orders received at the office on September 30, the day this issue is published; so please, if you can say 'That's today' as you read this, and if you can lend a hand, phone your order to 01-346 5135. We can arrange delivery in Brighton.

For other readers, what about having a look at each subject dealt with in these pages, thinking who to show it to, and then making sure they are encouraged to become subscribers.

Finally, to our good friends who contribute pence and pounds to our fund, you reached the target in August with a total of:

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